

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 ATHENS 01398 01 OF 02 131557Z

42

ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PM-03 DODE-00

INR-05 CIAE-00 L-01 PRS-01 CCO-00 SSO-00 EURE-00 SP-02

OMB-01 A-01 OC-01 ACDA-10 SAJ-01 INRE-00 /054 W

----- 073882

Z 131510Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 2657

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ATHENS 1398

LIMDIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR PFOR GR US

SUBJECT: US-GREEK BASE NEGOTIATIONS: JOINT STATEMENT OR COMMUNIQUE

REF: ATHENS 1166

1. AT FINAL PLENARY SESSION OF THIRD ROUND THIS MORNING, CALOGERAS PASSED TO STEARNS FOR THE FIRST TIME GREEK GOVT'S PROPOSED TEXT FOR A "STATEMENT" TO BE RELEASED AT COMPLETION OF THIRD ROUND. DRAFT STATEMENT, WHICH WE BELIEVE WAS PREPARED IN PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE AND APPROVED PERSONALLY BY CARAMANLIS' READS AS FOLLOWS: BEGIN QUOTE:

DELEGATIONS FROM THE UNITED STATES AND GREECE MET IN ATHENS JAN 26 TO FEB 13, 1976 FOR A THIRD ROUND OF TALKS ON MUTUAL DEFENSE MATTERS. THE GREEK DELEGATION WAS LED BY AMBASSADOR PETRO CALOGERAS AND THE US DELEGATION BY MINISTER MONTEAGLE STEARNS.

ALTHOUGH VERY SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS WAS MADE ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS UNDER NEGOTIATION, A FOURTH ROUND OF TALKS WILL BE NECESSARY BEFORE AGREEMENT IS REACHED, ON ACCOUNT OF THE COMPLEXITY OF THE ISSUES INVOLVED.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 ATHENS 01398 01 OF 02 131557Z

IT IS EXPECTED THAT THIS ROUND WILL BE HELD IN THE

NEAR FUTURE, AT WHICH TIME A COMMUNIQUE WILL BE ISSUED.

BOTH DELEGATIONS EXPRESSED THEIR SATISFACTION FOR THE FRIENDLY AND BUSINESSLIKE SPIRIT IN WHICH THE TALKS WERE CONDUCTED. END QUOTE.

2. AS REPORTING CABLE ON FINAL PLENARY SESSION WILL MAKE CLEAR, STEARNS EXPRESSED "DEEP DISAPPOINTMENT" AT THE BREVITY AND COOLNESS OF THE GREEK DRAFT. HE TOLD THE GREEK SIDE THAT THEIR DRAFT FAILED TO DO JUSTICE TO THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS REGISTERED IN NEGOTIATIONS THUS FAR AND FAILED ALSO TO REFLECT THE SPIRIT OF FRIENDSHIP, COOPERATION AND MUTUAL PURPOSE WHICH HAD GENERALLY ANIMATED THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE GREEK DRAFT, HE SAID, WOULD BE APPROPRIATE TO EXPRESS GRUDGING PROGRESS BETWEEN ADVERSARIES. IT WAS COMPLETELY INAPPROPRIATE TO EXPRESS THE SIGNIFICANT AGREEMENT BEING REACHED BY FRIENDS AND ALLIES. HE NOTED THAT THE CONTRAST BETWEEN THIS DRAFT AND THE EFFUSIVELY WARM COMMUNICATIONS ISSUED BY THE GREEK GOVERNMENT FROM PLACES LIKE PRAGUE, SOFIA AND BUDAPEST WAS UNMISTAKABLE AND WOULD NOT BE OVERLOOKED BY THOSE READING IT. THE BLUNT TRUTH, SAID STEARNS, WAS THAT THE GREEK DRAFT DID NOT ACCURATELY REFLECT WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS OR THE SPIRIT IN WHICH IT WAS HAPPENING. TO UNDERLINE THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE GREEK APPROACH TO THE COMMUNIQUE AND OUR OWN, STEARNS READ INTO THE PLENARY RECORD THE TEXT OF THE AMERICAN DRAFT COMMUNIQUE (REFTEL) AS WELL AS THE TEXT OF THE SHORT GREEK STATEMENT.

3. STEARNS SAID THAT HE WOULD IMMEDIATELY CONVEY THE GREEK DRAFT TO WASHINGTON. HE COULD NOT PREDICT PRECISELY WHAT WASHINGTON'S REACTION WOULD BE OR WHEN IT WOULD BE RECEIVED. HE BELIEVED, HOWEVER, THAT WASHINGTON WOULD SHARE OUR DISAPPOINTMENT IN THE GREEK DRAFT AND WOULD SHARE ALSO HIS PERSONAL BELIEF THAT IT WAS TIME FOR THE GREEK GOVERNMENT TO PUT OUR FRIENDSHIP AND MUTUALITY OF INTERESTS ON THE RECORD. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD ADVISE CALOGERAS AS SOON AS WASHINGTON'S REACTION

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 ATHENS 01398 01 OF 02 131557Z

WAS RECEIVED. IN VIEW OF THE DISPARITY BETWEEN THE AMERICAN AND GREEK TEXTS, HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE UNREALISTIC TO THINK ABOUT RELEASING ANYTHING BEFORE NOON SATURDAY, FEB 14.

4. CALOGERAS REPLIED THAT HE HAD "NOTED CAREFULLY" STEARNS' REMARKS. HE THEN PROCEEDED TO MAKE A BRIEF AND NOTABLY UNENTHUSIASTIC DEFENSE OF THE GREEK DRAFT,

WHICH, HE SAID, HAD BEEN "CONVEYED" TO HIM BY HIS SUPERIORS IN THE GREEK GOVERNMENT. HE ADDED THAT HE WISHED THE AMERICAN SIDE TO KNOW THAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT SHARED OUR SATISFACTION WITH THE PROGRESS MADE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND DID NOT REPEAT NOT DESAGREE WITH ANYTHING IN THE AMERICAN DRAFT COMMUNIQUE. "AT THE RIGHT TIME MY GOVERNMENT," HE SAID, "WILL BE PERFECTLY PREPARED TO SAY THIS MUCH AND MORE BUT WE BELIEVE THAT THE RIGHT TIME IS AFTER THE FOURTH ROUND."

5. COMMENT:

WE ARE INDEED DISAPPOINTED BY THE LACONIC NATURE OF THE GREEK DRAFT ALTHOUGH WE ARE NOT ALTOGETHER SURPRISED BY IT. DESPITE THE GENERALLY POSITIVED REACTION OF CALOGERAS AND BITSIOS TO THE AMERICAN DRAFT, WE HAVE FOR THE PAST TWO DAYS BEEN RECEIVING SIGNALS FROM THE GREEK SIDE THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WAS PERSONALLY AGAINST ANY STATEMENT OR COMMUNIQUE THAT WENT BEYOND A BARE-BONED PARAGRAPH SAYING THAT THE THIRD ROUND HAD BEEN COMPLETED AND THAT A FOURTH ROUND WOULD BE NECESSARY. HIS REASONING, AS CONVEYED BY MOLYVIATIS TO AMBASSADOR KUBISCH AND BY CALOGERAS TO STEARNS, WAS THAT HE WAS PREPARED TO DEFEND THE RESULTS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE MUTUALITY OF GREEK-US DEFENSE INTEREST, AND TO DEFEND THEM FORCEFULLY, BUT WANTED TO MAKE THIS DEFINITIVE DEFENSE WHEN SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEEN COMPLETED NOT REPEAT NOT WHILE THEY WERE STILL UNDERWAY. IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S VIEW, THE RIGHT TIME TO JOIN BATTLE WITH THE OPPOSITION WOULD BE AFTER THE FOURTH ROUND. MEANWHILE, HE STRONGLY BELIEVED THAT NOTHING MORE THAN A BRIEF INTERIM STATEMENT SHOULD BE MADE AFTER THE THIRD ROUND.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 ATHENS 01398 01 OF 02 131557Z

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 ATHENS 01398 02 OF 02 131635Z

42

ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PM-03 DODE-00

INR-05 CIAE-00 L-01 PRS-01 CCO-00 SSO-00 EURE-00 SP-02

OMB-01 A-01 OC-01 ACDA-10 SAJ-01 INRE-00 /054 W

----- 074688

Z 131510Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 2658

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 ATHENS 1398

LIMDIS

6. WE DISAGREE WITH THIS POINT OF VIEW AND HAVE EXPRESSED OUR DISAGREEMENT FORCEFULLY TO THE GREEKS. AMB KUBISCH DISCUSSED THE SUBJECT AT LENGTH LAST NIGHT WITH MOLYVIATIS AND VERY FORCEFULLY TOLD HIM THAT WE WERE BECOMING INCREASINGLY IMPATIENT WITH THE GREEK GOVERNMENT'S RELUCTANT TO EXPRESS PUBLICLY THE IMPORTANCE IT ATTACHES TO CLOSE FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WITH THE US. THE RESERVE OF THE GREEK GOVT IN ITS PUBLIC STATEMENTS, HE TOLD MOLYVIATIS, CONTRASTED SHARPLY WITH THE FERVOR OF THEIR PRIVATE AVOWALS OF FRIENDSHIP. SIMILARLY, THE SPEED WITH WHICH THEY DUCKED FOR COVER WHEN ASKED TO COMMENT PUBLICLY ON THE STATE OF US-GREEK RELATIONS WAS ONLY EXCEEDED BY THE SPEED WITH WHICH THEY CAME TO US PRIVATELY TO ASK FOR HELP ON A WIDE RANGE OF DIPLOMATIC, MILITARY AND ECONOMIC QUESTIONS. MOLYVIATIS WAS CLEARLY DISCOMFITED BY THESE REMARKS AND ARGUED THAT THE PRIME MINISTERS CONSIDERATIONS IN OBJECTING TO A FULL-BLOWN COMMUNIQUE WERE TACTICAL. AFTER THE FOURTH ROUND HE WOULD SPEAK UP ELOQUENTLY IN DEFENSE OF OUR FRIENDSHIP AND NOT OF THE AGREEMENTS BEING NEGOTIATED. HE WAS WILLING TO FIGHT ONE PARLIAMENTARY BATTLE ON THE AGREEMENTS BUT NOT TWO.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 ATHENS 01398 02 OF 02 131635Z

7. WE ARE NOW FACED WITH THE PRACTICAL PROBLEM OF HOW TO PROCEED WITH THE PROBLEM OF THE STATEMENT OR COMMUNIQUE. OUR IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVE SHOULD CERTAINLY BE TO STRENGTHEN THE GREEK DRAFT WITH LANGUAGE WHICH SUITS OUR NEEDS, AND, INCIDENTALLY, PROVIDES A BETTER REFLECTION OF THE AMOUNT OF PROGRESS ACHIEVED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS TO DATE. WE SUGGEST, THEREFORE, THAT WE BE AUTHORIZED TO SEEK GREEK AGREEMENT TO THE FOLLOWING REVISED TEXT:

BEGIN QUOTE:

DELEGATIONS FROM THE UNITED STATES AND GREECE MET
IN ATHENS JAN 26 TO FEB 13, 1976, FOR A THIRD
ROUND OF TALKS ON MUTUAL DEFENSE MATTERS. THE GREEK
DELEGATION WAS LED BY AMBASSADOR PETROS CALOGERAS AND
THE US DELEGATION BY MINISTER MONTEAGLE
STEARNS.

THE TALKS PROCEEDED IN A SPIRIT OF COOPERATION
AND FRIMENDSHIP, WITH FULL RESPECT FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY
AND DIGNITY OF BOTH COUNTRIES AND CONCERN FOR THEIR
MANY MUTUAL INTERESTS. VERY SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS WAS
MADE ON THE SUBJECTS UNDER NEGOTIATION. THE TWO DELE-
GATIONS AGREED THAT AMERICAN FACILITIES AND AMERICAN
PERSONNEL REMAINING IN GREECE SERVE THE SECURITY INTERESTS
OF BOTH COUNTRIES AND ENHANCE THEIR COMMON DEFENSE. A
FOURTH ROUND OF TALKS WILL BE NECESSARY BEFORE AGREEMENT
IS REACHED, ON ACCOUNT OF THE COMPLEXITY OF THE ISSUES
INVOLVED.

IT IS EXPECTED THAT THIS ROUND WILL BE HELD IN THE
NEAR FUTURE, AT WHICH TIME A COMMUNIQUE WILL BE ISSUED.

BOTH DELEGATIONS EXPRESSED THEIR GREAT SATISFACTION
WITH THE FRIENDLY SPIRIT OF COOPRATION IN WHICH THE
TALKS WERE CONDUCTED AND ARE EXTREMELY PLEASED WITH THE
PROGRESS ACHIEVED IN THE THIRD ROUND. END QUOTE.

8. IF THE GREEKS ARE UNWILLING TO ACCEPT THE FOREGOING
TEXT, OR SOMETHING THAT CLOSELY RESEMBLES IT, WE WOULD
FAVOR AS A FALLBACK SEEKING THEIR AGREEMENT TO A SLIGHTLY
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 ATHENS 01398 02 OF 02 131635Z

MODIFIED VERSION OF THEIR OWN DRAFT. THE MODIFIED VERSION
THAT WE HAVE IN MIND WOULD READ AS FOLLOWS: BEGIN QUOTE.

DELEGATIONS FROM THE UNITED STATES AND GREECE MET
IN ATHENS JAN 26 TO FEB 13, 1976, FOR A THIRD
ROUND OF TALKS ON MUTUAL DEFENSE MATTERS. THE GREEK
DELEGATION WAS LEAD BY AMBASSADOR PETROS CALOGERAS AND
THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION BY MINISTER MONTEAGLE
STEARNS.

VERY SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS WAS MADE ON THE SUBJECTS
UNDER NEGOTIATION. A FOURTH ROUND OF TALKS WILL BE
NECESSARY BEFORE AGREEMENT IS REACHED, ON ACCOUNT OF
THE COMPLEXITY OF THE ISSUES INVOLVED.

IT IS EXPECTED THAT THIS ROUND WILL BE HELD IN THE

NEAR FUTURE, AT WHICH TIME A COMMUNIQUE WILL BE ISSUED.

BOTH DELEGATIONS EXPRESSED THEIR SATISFACTION FOR THE FRIENDLY SPIRIT OF COOPERATION IN WHICH THE TALKS WERE CONDUCTED. END QUOTE.

9. SHOULD THE GREEKS BALK AT ACCEPTING EVEN THIS DRAFT, WE HAVE TWO CHOICES OF FURTHER ACTION OPEN TO US. WE COULD REFUSE TO ASSOCIATE OURSELVES WITH THE GREEK DRAFT AND RESERVE THE RIGHT TO MAKE CLEAR THAT IT WAS A UNILATERAL STATEMENT OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT IN WHOSE TONE AND CONTENT WE DID NOT FULLY CONCUR. OR, ALTERNATIVELY, WE COULD MOST RELUCTANTLY AGREE TO THE ORIGINAL GREEK DRAFT AFTER RESTATING TO THE GREEKS OUR OBJECTIONS TO IT AND OUR FIRM EXPECTATION THAT A FULL, FAIR, AND FORTHCOMING COMMUNIQUE WILL BE ISSUED AFTER THE FOURTH ROUND.

10. WE ARE TEMPTED TO RECOMMENT THE FIRST ALTERNATIVE. THIS WOULD CLEARLY INVOLVE A DIRECT CLASH WITH CARAMANLIS BUT IT MIGHT HAVE SALUTORY SIDE EFFECTS AND WOULD CERTAINLY REGISTER OUR DISSATISFACTION WITH HIS PRESENT TACTICS. THE DANGER IN THIS COURSE OF ACTION HOWEVER WOULD BE TO CREATE AN IMPRESSION IN GREECE AS WELL AS THE US THAT SERIOUS DIFFERENCES OF SUBSTANCE EXISTED IN NEGOTIATIONS
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 ATHENS 01398 02 OF 02 131635Z

THEMSELVES. THE COMMUNIST PRESS AND SOME OF THE NON-COMMUNIST OPPOSITION PRESS HAVE BEEN IMPLYING THAT WE ARE SEEKING SUCH THINGS AS PORT FACILITIES FOR POLARIS SUBMARINES AND NEW BASES IN CRETE. IN FACT, AS WE KNOW, MOST OF THE CRUNCH IJOF S# UNDER NEGOTIATION HAVE BEEN

RESOLVED OR ARE NEAR RESOLUTION. WE HAVE EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT IS PREPARED TO STAND BY THE AGREEMENTS REACHED. A CLASH WITH CARAMANLIS OVER THE LANGUAGE OF A PUBLIC STATEMENT AND OUR OWN DISSOCIATION FROM A STATEMENT RELEASED BY THE GREEK GOVERNMENT COULD THEREFORE JEOPARDIZE THE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE. IT WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR OUR REFLEX CRITICS IN GREECE TO CLAIM THAT NEGOTIATIONS WERE BREAKING DOWN BECAUSE OF AMERICAN INTRANSIGENCE. ON BALANCE, THEREFORE, WE ARE INCLINED TO CONCLUDE THAT THIS WOULD BE A CONFRONTATION WITH CARAMANLIS ON THE WRONG ISSUE AT THE WRONG TIME.

11. ACCORDINGLY, WE RECOMMEND THAT IF THE GREEKS ADAMANTLY INSIST ON THEIR OWN WORDING - WHICH WE HOPE WILL NOT BE THE CASE -- WE ACCEPT THE GREEK DRAFT AS A "STATEMENT" ON THE THIRD ROUND, TELLING

THEM THAT WE WILL NOT DISSOCIATE OURSELVES FROM IT BUT EMPHASIZING TO THEM OUR DISSATISFACTION WITH THE WORKING THEY HAVE CHOSEN AND OUR EXPECTATION THAT A FULL COMMUNIQUE, THAT ACCURATELY REFLECTS THE CONTENT AND SPIRIT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE ISSUED AFTER THE FOURTH ROUND.

12. AMB KUBISCH TONIGHT IS ATTENDING A DINNER AT THE HOME OF PRESIDENT TSATSOS AT WHICH CARAMNALIS MAY ALSO BE PRESENT. HE MAY THEREFORE HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THIS SUBJECT DIRECTLY WITH THE PRIME MINISTER. THEREFORE, WE NEED BY SEVEN THIS EVENING ATHENS TIME WASHINGTON'S TELEPHONIC CONCURRENCE IN THE ABOVE COURSE OF ACTION, OR OTHER GUIDANCE. WE WILL NEED WASHINGTON'S CONCURRENCE AND/OR COMMENT BY TELEGRAM SATURDAY MORNING ATHENS TIME.

KUBISCH

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 ATHENS 01398 02 OF 02 131635Z

NOTE BY OC/T: #AS RECEIVED.

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MILITARY BASES, NEGOTIATIONS, COMMUNIQUE, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 13 FEB 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ullricre
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976ATHENS01398
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760055-0843
From: ATHENS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760253/aaaabtvs.tel
Line Count: 357
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: 76 ATHENS 1166
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ullricre
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12 APR 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <29 JUL 2004 by ullricre>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: US-GREEK BASE NEGOTIATIONS: JOINT STATEMENT OR COMMUNIQUE
TAGS: MARR, PFOR, GR, US, (CALOGERAS, PETRO), (STEARNS, MONTEAGLE)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006